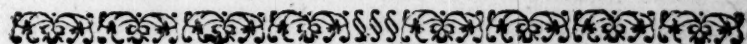
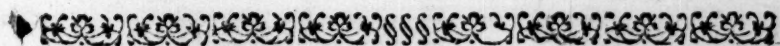


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T H E
N A T U R E and U S E
O F
S U B S I D I A R Y F O R C E S
F U L L Y C O N S I D E R E D:
In A N S W E R to a
P A M P H L E T,
I N T I T L E D
A S e c o n d L E T T E R to the People
of E N G L A N D.

— "οὐ γὰρ ὁλοῦσι φρεσὶ θύει. HOMER.
*Eadem Facultate, & Fraus, Hominum ad
Perniciem, & Integritas ad Salutem, vocatur.*
CICERO, DE ORATORE, Lib. II.

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IN ANSWER TO
PAMPHLET
INTITLED

A Second LETTER to the People
of ENGLAND

By
James F. Johnson, of New York, and
James F. Johnson, of New York, and
James F. Johnson, of New York, and
James F. Johnson, of New York, and

LONDON:
Printed for James Robinson, at the Corner
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shops of London and elsewhere. 1844

A N
A N S W E R

To a PAMPHLET intitled
A Second LETTER to the People of
ENGLAND, &c.

WHOEVER presumes to scrutinize into Ministerial Conduct, should be of incorruptible Integrity, deep Penetration, cool Reflection, sound and unbiaſſed Judgement. The ſincere Patriot, ſhould be united with the able Politician.

To miſlead others, in Conſequence of having inconfiderately impoſed upon Ourſelves, is dangerous to Society ; but to deceive Them deſignedly and corruptly, is not only pernicious in its Effects, but highly criminal in the Attempt.

B

EVERY

EVERY Man who reasons, should have received Conviction, before he endeavours to convince. What is a Point of Prudence in private Argument, in publick Debates, where a Nation is concerned, becomes a moral Duty.

HE, who makes Himself Judge of national Transactions, should be well assured, that He has the whole complicated Scheme of Operation, before his View. Truth and Impartiality, should be the solid Basis of his Scrutiny ; Candor and Politeness, should be the Ornament of the Superstructure.

IT should manifestly appear, that he does not exclaim against the M——y, but against their Measures : That He has neither conceived, any personal Malice against them, nor ignominiously adopted, the envious Animosities of Others.

It is needless and superfluous, to *profess* disinterested Principles. If the Heart is warmed with Celestial Patriot Fire, the clear lively Sparks, will glow in every Sentiment ; but, if It burns with the infernal Heat of Discord, the foul Flames will blaze through the

the Cloud of Faction, and discover the latent Fiend.

BEFORE We censure political Measures, We ought to be well apprized, of the Motives which direct them. I am far from thinking the System of Politicks, so intricate, as some vainly imagine—To a Man of clear Conception and sound Judgement, no Subject is mysterious, with which He has the Means of making Himself acquainted; but few are admitted, to so close an Inspection into the political Engine, as to discover every minute Spring, on which the Motion, of the whole implicated Machinery, depends: They who are, should not examine It, as a Child gazes on the Mechanism of a Watch, but, should know the Use of every Wheel, and the Destination of the smallest Movement, to the Perfection of the Whole. This accurate Insight, is necessary to direct Us, in such Disquisitions. If We judge wrong, the Honesty of our Intentions, cannot atone for our Mistakes: For where We *officiously* undertake to criticize, Errors in Judgement, are unpardonable.

How inexcusable is He therefore, who errs wilfully? Who by false Alarms, and

unfair Suggestions, would raise Commotions, and foment Divisions, within his native Land—Is there a Punishment, within the Reach of Torture, too rigid for so black a Crime?

THE Writer, who is prompted by virtuous Principles, will address himself to the Judgment, in a candid and impartial Manner: But He, who is influenced by vicious Motives, will write to the Passions—He will not so much labour to convince, as seek to inflame. Ranting and Declaiming, will supply the Want of Reason and Argument, and be employed to disguise his Malevolence.

THE Strokes of Correction, from the Hand of Virtue, *never fall unmerited*, and always with Reluctance; they are such, as a darling Son, receives from a tender Parent, who trembles, while he chastizes: But, when Prostitution holds the Lash, it is like a Scourge in the venal Hands of a Hangman; it is as harmless as a Feather, if you can bribe Him to be gentle; if not, it lacerates like the Stings of a *Scorpion*.

AN Author, who attempts to analyze the Scheme of State, should write like a Scholar,
reason

reason like a Man of Sense, and censure like a Gentleman. If he thinks it his Duty to make Remonstrances to his Superiors, the Nature of Subordination, and a Regard to Decency and Manners, require him to offer them with Deference and Respect.

I PROPOSE to examine how far a Pamphlet, intitl'd *A Second Letter to the People of England*, is consistent with these Principles.

IF a Poverty of Stile, and Violation of Grammar, suit the Language of a Scholar; if drawing Conclusions without Premises, and advancing Premises without Conclusions, become the Reasoning of a Man of Sense; if Abuse and Scurrility, are agreeable to the Behavior of a Gentleman—The Author, is complete in every Character.

I AM sensible, that in the Course of this Examination, I shall have Occasion to urge some unpopular Reflections, with Respect to foreign Forces. I therefore entreat the Reader for a while to divest himself of Passion and Prejudice, those cruel Enemies to Reason, and I shall then, with Pleasure, submit myself to his Judgement.

It

It is a difficult Task, to answer Arguments, which are incongruous and immethodical. But I will endeavour, to reduce this Chaos of Absurdity and Contradiction, into the most regular Arrangement I am able, the better to expose the Folly and Fallacy of the Writer.

He unluckily betrays his Ignorance of our Constitution, in the very first Paragraph.

“ IN all Governments (says he) constituted
 “ like this of which you have the good For-
 “ tune to be born Members, where the
 “ *Legislative Power is the People's Right*, and
 “ the *Executive belongs to the King*, indeed
 “ wherever it is of the mixed Kind, it is im-
 “ possible, from the *changeable Nature of all*
 “ *human Institutions*, but the Balance which
 “ ought to be between the Prince and the
 “ Subject, must be destroyed, and the Scale
 “ preponderate sometimes on one Side, and
 “ sometimes on the other.”

LET me ask this Adept in Politicks, by what Authority he devests his Sovereign of a Share in the Legislative Power. Is not that Power lodged in the Parliament of *England*? Is not that Parliament composed of the King, the

the Nobility, and the Commons? (which latter are the Representatives of the People) Is not the Assent of the Peers, Is not the concurrent Deed of the Sovereign, necessary to the Completion of every Legislative Act? How then has he presumed to exclude Two Parts out of Three, and vest it solely in the People? — Let this daring Insolent tremble at his Presumption, and know that, by the 13th of Car. II. c. 1. — *To affirm, that Either or Both Houses of Parliament, have a Legislative Power, without the King, is made a PRÆMUNIRE.*

His next Paragraph contains the same Reflection as the foregoing, but in other Words—
 “ Such (says he) is *the fluctuating State of all*
 “ *Things*, that no opulent Nations can long
 “ proceed in the right Way, without frequent-
 “ ly returning to the first Principles on which
 “ they were established.”

THIS is the true political Cant. This is a trite Observation of *Machiavel's*. But He has not ventured to explain what he means by First Principles; nor, indeed, has his Master delivered himself with any Precision on that Head. If our Author intended by Reason and fair Argument, to convince the Reader of
 any

any Abuses in Government, in Consequence of a Deviation from it's original Principles, it was incumbent on Him to state, what He apprehended those Principles to have been at their first Institution ; and then to shew in what Particulars They have been infringed.

He goes on with the following Observation—
 “ Notwithstanding the Revolution may be
 “ justly denominated the *Æra* of establishing
 “ *English* Liberty on a rational Plan of Go-
 “ vernment, yet the Consequences of Mens
 “ Pursuit of Power may be such, that the
 “ *Equilibrium* which was then settled may be
 “ lost, and the Scale incline too much on one
 “ Side. When this shall happen, *England*,
 “ to preserve its Liberties, *should* again at-
 “ tempt to vindicate the Advantages of her
 “ happy Constitution.”

WHAT *Equilibrium* was then settled ? How was the Plan of Government *essentially* altered at the Revolution ? The Person of our Governor was, indeed, happily changed ; but the same *Form* of Government remained. But what would he insinuate in this Sentence ? What Danger is there, that the Scale will incline too much on one Side ? Does not a
 happy

happy Harmony, subsist between the three Estates of the Kingdom? Has any Attempt been made to violate the Liberties of *England*? The most industrious Malice cannot produce an Instance. But let us observe what a seditious Inference, He draws from these unwarrantable Premises.

“ IF (says he) it be lawful to oppose the
 “ despotic Designs of a Sovereign who may
 “ be taking *gigantic* Strides to subvert the
 “ Laws, and set up an arbitrary Power on it’s
 “ Ruins, it must be just to resist every *other*
 “ Part of our Constitution which may invade
 “ the Rights and Priviledges of their *Fellow*
 “ *Subjects*.”

WHAT a dreadful *Colussus* has he described? But is Any such Monster coming to stride over us? Let us not be afraid. He starts at Giants of his own Imagination. — Here I cannot help observing, as an Instance of his Learning, that, according to grammatical Construction, He has made the *Sovereign*, a *Fellow Subject*. — This is a new Kind of *Antithesis*, a Figure of his own Invention.

In the next Place, He opens a new Piece of History — “ The Commons of *England*
 C “ (says

" (says he) are the Representatives of the
 " People; Five Hundred Men are entrusted
 " with the Liberties, Properties and Privi-
 " ledges of Millions — If this Number,
 " elected for the publick Good, instead of
 " supporting the Honor and Prerogatives of
 " the Crown, protecting their Constituents
 " and the People, shall at any Time be ren-
 " dering the *Sovereign dependant on his*
 " M——r, fleecing the Millions to enrich the
 " Hundreds, and betraying their Country-
 " men to iniquitous ministerial Views, can
 " the People of this Land, the Millions, the
 " Men of Property and Understanding, still
 " Lovers of their Country, be condemned
 " for opposing such pernicious Proceedings,
 " Or I, your Fellow Subject, for knocking
 " at your Breast, and awaking those Hearts
 " within which sleep supinely inattentive to
 " their Country's Danger."

Who is this noisy Declaimer, who covers
 traiterous Falsehoods, under the Mask of such
 seditious Suggestions? Who is this *busy Egotist*,
 who rudely knocks at your Breasts, to raise
 false Alarms, that he may take Advantage of
 your intestine Commotions? Whoever he is—
 Beware how you admit him; for he has nei-
 ther

ther Honesty to serve, nor Sense to entertain you: He is a designing, obtruding Visitor, not fit to be received, into a worthy Man's Society.

IN the next Paragraph he says — “ It
 “ has been lately propagated, with no small
 “ Industry, that the P——t, as a Legislative
 “ Body, has a Right to make what Law it
 “ pleases; and our Representatives, once elect-
 “ ed, are accountable to No One for their
 “ Proceedings.”

UNDOUBTEDLY the P——t has a Right, to make what Law It pleases; and our Representatives, are accountable to No One for their Proceedings—No further, than as every Man is *morally* accountable, for the just Discharge, of the Trust reposed in Him. They are chosen from among the People, to act for their Welfare; and, for that Purpose, are admitted to a more intimate Acquaintance with the State of Affairs, than it would be consistent with Reason, to receive the Multitude. What often seems destructive, at a Distance, appears salutary, upon close Inspection: And if our Representatives were to explain their Conduct, in Order to reconcile their Proceedings, to our

C 2

hasty

hasty, turbulent Apprehensions, They might be obliged to discover secret Operations; which Discovery, might frustrate the Success of Measures, depending for the public Good. According to the Nature of All Governments, there must be an *unlimited Power* somewhere: And in our happy Constitution, that Power is wisely lodged, in the Parliament.

BUT He says — “ Nothing can be a more
 “ fatal Insinuation to the Ear of an *English-*
 “ *man* than This, if It should find Accep-
 “ tance among *Mankind*.”

I IMAGINE He meant to say *among Us*—
 For It appears to be of no Consequence, how
 the Rest of *Mankind* receive It; and He can
 hardly suppose, that All Mankind, are *English-*
men. But let Us attend to what follows —

“ MAN (He says) from the very Nature
 “ of his Being can never be supposed to dele-
 “ gate a Right to his Representative, con-
 “ trary to *his* own Welfare and Felicity,
 “ much less a Whole Nation to it's own De-
 “ struction. *Ne quid Detrimenti capiat Res-*
 “ *publica* is the Condition of *his* being chosen
 “ and appointed. —

IT

“ IT is therefore (He says) an Absurdity to
 “ imagine that Men *can* delegate a Power of
 “ injuring Themselves to Those who are
 “ elected for the public Welfare.”

To which I answer, That to suppose, any Man *will* delegate such a Power, may be somewhat absurd: But to imagine that He *can*, is no Absurdity at All. Whoever parts with his Power to Another, resigns It through the Confidence He reposes, in the Abilities and Integrity of the Person, whom He has chosen to represent Him; and to act for His, and the public, Welfare. A Confidence in moral Honesty, is the Basis of All *civil Transactions*; and, if Men are sometimes deceived in their Opinions of Each Other, They must according to the Nature of Things, suffer for their wrong Judgement. But if Constituents, when They have chosen their Representatives, were allowed, to make any partial Reservation, of Power, to Themselves, It would destroy All Order, introduce Confusion, and subvert the very Foundations of Government. When they have transferred their Power, They cannot, ought not, to restrain, or limit the Execution of It.

He pursues his Reflection in the following Words — “ To chuse Men as national Representatives and Protectors of the public Good, and then suppose that They have a Right to act contrary to the Interest of their Constituents, is to imagine that Physicians who are chosen to superintend and cure the Sick in Hospitals, have a Right to kill their Patients if They please.”

As It is natural for Men to talk in Character, One would suspect, from this elegant Illustration, the Author to be a Physician. If so — It is much to be feared that, He is doubly a Quack — both as a Politician, and a Doctor.

In the following Paragraphs, He attempts to be sophistical. He says,

“ It is the Custom of All Those who presume to defend the present Ad—n to ask, in Opposition to Those who complain of the Mal-Conduct of Affairs, whether We are not governed by Laws legally instituted.”

To which He answers by asking

“ IF

“ If any Law can be said to be legally in-
 “ stituted which may be enacted by Men
 “ chosen contrary to Law, and exceeding the
 “ Design of their Institution? If Bribery and
 “ Conception influencing the Elections of the
 “ natural Representatives of This Kingdom
 “ are absolutely contrary to the established
 “ Laws of this Realm; can then the Member
 “ who is chosen by Means of corrupt Influ-
 “ ence and Perjury, in direct Opposition to
 “ the Legislature, be legally endowed with
 “ the Power of making Laws? ”

THIS curious Piece of Sophistry was, no
 doubt, intended to mean something. If He
 would insinuate, that the Seats of Those,
 chosen by Bribery and Corruption, should be
 vacated, and their Acts annulled, as contrary
 to Law, He talks absurdly.

ADMITTING Bribery and Corruption (for
 the Sake of Argument) yet if the Electors
 are such as have a Right to vote, the Repre-
 sentative, is well chosen, by Virtue of their
 Suffrages, Why? Because He is appointed
 by such Persons, in whom the Law has, for
 their own Benefit, lodged the grand Priviledge,

of

of electing Members to represent Them. No Matter, as to the Legality of the Election, *Quo Animo* They gave their Voice. Supposing It corruptly—Have They in Reason, or Justice, a Right to take Advantage of their Corruption? *A multo fortiori*, ought They not to be more strongly concluded, by their own venal Act.

SHALL *the Millions, the Men of Property and Understanding*, be admitted to say—*Our Members are illegally chosen*—*They have no Right to make Laws, for We were bribed to elect Them.*—Are there not Laws to force Men, so far as Laws can constrain Them, to be true to their own Interest? Are there not Laws subsisting, to punish Bribery? But shall Representatives, appointed by corrupt Constituents, be deemed illegally chosen, and disqualified to make Laws? If so—Who are to elect new Members? Will Men, who have been corrupt in One Instance, be more honest in a Second? Will They, who have violated their Conscience, abandoned their Interest, and stained their Souls with Perjury, for present pecuniary Profit—Will They, be more scrupulous on a like Occasion, when exposed to the same Temptations? Will They

They not rather, already sunk in Infamy, be more open to Seduction, and more prone to Prostitution. To think otherwise, is most egregious Stupidity! Either such Members are legally elected, Or we can have no Representatives at All.

BUT (says He) — “ If this Question be “ answered in the Affirmative, tell Me then “ the Difference, between the Ideas which “ attend the Words *Legal and Illegal*.”

THIS is the first Instance of his Modesty. And, in Compliance with his Request, I will endeavour to render the Meaning, of Those Terms, as *level* to his *Capacity*, as I can. But I beg Leave to premise, that, in explaining what is legal, and illegal, I do not mean to speak of Acts, with a View to Morality, but only of the *Legality* of publick authoritative Acts, exercised by Virtue of settled Priviledges.

SUCH Acts then are illegal, which are performed by Persons, not having Authority, to warrant the Performance of Them; Or, who having Authority, are compelled to execute their Power, in a Manner contrary to their

D

Will:

Will: *Et sic & Converso.* But, If They do an Act, which They have a Right to perform, and do It spontaneously, though influenced by corrupt Motives, the Act is not therefore illegal, though the moving Principle is immoral. The Law punishes the bad Intention, which guides the Act, but cannot vacate the Act Itself. The Law cannot force Men to act with Honesty; It can only punish Them, whenever They appear to have been dishonest.

AGAIN, In all Acts, the Law wisely considers who is to be benefited. If an Act is for the Advantage of the Doer, and He executes It corruptly, The Law, which is the Perfection of Reason, will not suffer Him to take Advantage of his Iniquity, and frustrate his own Deed. The Law, therefore, considers the Act as legal, though It declares the Motives, on which It was established, criminal.

It is an obvious Absurdity, to Every One, who has the least Glimmering of Common Sense, that an Act calculated for the Benefit of the Doers, should be annulled, because concluded, by a Number of corrupt Persons, where

where the same corrupt People, must again have a Share, in the Re-performance of It. The Voice of Reason and Justice, pronounce the Act legal, and the Authors of It, punishable for their Corruption. — But I waste too much Time, in answering such futile Arguments — For as *Cicero* observes — *Stultum est absurdas Opiniones accuratius refellere.*

AFTER having condescended to admit, that such Members are authorized to make Laws, He asks,

“ If an Act is once passed the House of
“ C——s, does It follow that It must be ab-
“ solutely complied with without Complaint
“ or Remonstrance, especially if It contain
“ Conditions destructive to All that is valua-
“ ble among Men? Are the Laws of *England*,
“ like Those of the *Medes and Persians*, to
“ remain unalterable, because They are
“ made.”

What would this insidious Querist intimate? Had He but reflected with Honesty and Impartiality, on a remarkable Occurrence of recent Memory, He would not have asked this Question. Was not the Repeal of the Jew

Act, an ever memorable Instance that our Laws are not unalterable? Was It not the strongest Argument of the Perfection of our Liberty? Did not the popular Clamor, prevail against the Judgement of P——t, and the Opinions of All judicious Men?

BUT what does He mean by saying, if *An Act is once passed the House of C——s*? — That House is but One Part of the Legislative Body, and a *Bill* does not take the Name of an *Act*, till It has passed the Other Two.

BUT let us attend to the seditious Suggestions, which follow :

“ I IMAGINE (says He) that It will be
 “ allowed Me, that Laws which violate the
 “ Constitution, create Inequality in the
 “ Course of distributive Justice, pillage the
 “ Many to enrich the Few, Alter the primary Dispositions of human Nature, sacrifice
 “ the private Good to public Emoluments,
 “ and *English* Property to foreign Interest,
 “ are such Laws as even a P——t legally
 “ chosen can hardly have an Authority to
 “ enact.”

BUT

BUT how is the Constitution violated? How is Inequality created, in the Course of distributive Justice? How are the primary Dispositions, of human Nature, altered? — *Unless in the Author's own ungenerous Bosom* — These, and the Train of detestable Suppositions which follow, have no Existence, but in his own wicked Imagination. He brings no Evidence of any Act committed, or even attempted, to warrant such Insinuations. No One, but the Fiend of Faction, could have connected such a Chain, of diabolical Intentions.

IF our Constitution is in any Way violated, it is by our Excess of Liberty. Licentiousness, is incompatible with the Constitution of every Government: And the Author himself, is a living Example, to what a supreme Degree, it is indulged among Us. Can there be a more convincing Proof, of the Lenity of our Government, than that He, who has endeavoured to blast the wholesome Fruits of M——l Labour, with the pestilential Breath of Calumny, and has used such Terms of Insolence, as He would even tremble, to offer to his Equals——is yet, permitted to walk at large, and, at Liberty to repeat the Insult? But to proceed —— He says,

WHEN

“ WHEN *Charles* the First presumed to levy
 “ Taxes on his Subjects without their Consent,
 “ this Design was not opposed by Them be-
 “ cause it proceeded from the King, but be-
 “ cause it was contrary to the Constitution,
 “ and illegal: In like Manner, whenever a
 “ P——t shall enact Laws destructive of
 “ the public Good, such Proceedings will be
 “ equally contrary to the Constitution, and
 “ if such Transactions in a King are justly
 “ denominated Tyranny, tell Me by what
 “ Name I shall distinguish similar Designs, if
 “ ever They are found in a House of C——?

I MUST confess that, in such Case, I could
 not recommend an Epithet. Nor indeed
 would I presume to offer One, for I know no
 Man more happy in the Choice of harsh Ap-
 pellations, than the Author. But I own, that
 I cannot discover any Parallel, in the Cases
 He compares. For surely there is a wide
 Difference, between an Attempt of the King's
 to do an Act, which may be in Opposition to
 the fundamental Principles of our Constitution,
 or against the Force of particular prohibitory
 Laws, and—The enacting of Laws, by the
 Authority of P——t. In the first Instance,
 the Act would be apparently illegal; in the
 second,

second, tho' it may prove prejudicial in it's Consequences, it is nevertheless legal in it's Institution. Whatever is done by P——t, is legally enacted. Their Act, is the Act and Deed of the whole Nation. And though, as Men, They may mistake the public Interest, yet, as Legislators, They cannot act illegally.

BUT let us observe what a contradictory Illation, He deduces from these mistaken Principles. He says,

“ IF opposing the arbitrary Efforts of a
 “ Sovereign were Acts of the most heroic
 “ Nature, and laudable Design, if passive
 “ Obedience to a crowned Head be the
 “ Heighth of Slavery, learn from thence that
 “ Opposition to illegal Proceedings in K——
 “ or C——, is equally Praise-worthy and vir-
 “ tuous : Without behaving in this Manner,
 “ it must be granted, that Resistance to the
 “ Kings of Old was a personal Pique, and
 “ not patriot Justice ; Resentment against the
 “ individual Man, and not a Vindication of
 “ your just Rights. *Thus* you see that Tyran-
 “ ny is the same from whatever Source It
 “ springs ; and the Arguments and Truth
 “ which justified our Fore-fathers in Oppo-
 “ sition

“ fition to One Head though furrounded with
 “ a Diadem, will fupport you in the fame Be-
 “ havior againft any Hydra-headed Minifter,
 “ or Hundred-handed *Briarcus*, which may
 “ attempt to fcale the Heaven of your
 “ Conftitution.”

WHAT an inconnective Harangue is this ?
 After having endeavoured to eftablifh a falfe
 Analogy between the Body Politick fole, and
 the Aggregate Body, which represents the
 whole Kingdom, and to perfuade you, that
 It is equally the fame, for the firft to act
 againft the Law, and the Latter, to enact bad
 Laws — He fuddenly drops Part of his Ar-
 gument, and applies his Inference folely to the
 Minifter ; whom He has converted into that
 poetical Monster, *the Son of Titan*, who was
 fupposed to have had Fifty Heads, and a
 Hundred Hands.

Is fuch intolerable Bombaft, the Language
 of a Man who propofes to reafon ? Do thefe
 School Boys Scraps of Erudition, add to the
 Weight of Argument ? Are thefe poetical
 Flights of Imagination, fuitable to a Subject
 which demands the moft folid Judgement ?
 Thefe Sallies of Puerility, might be Matter
 of

of Derision, if Mischief, did not lurk within the Heart of Ignorance. If the Heaven of our Constitution, was not defended by the Guardian Angels of our Liberty, indeed, the Sons of Violence and Rapine, (excited by such infernal Spirits) might easily invade the blest Abodes.

WE come now to the main Point in View, which relates to Subsidiary Forces.

“ I BELIEVE (says He) it may be justly ascertained a Maxim in Politicks that no Nation which can defend itself, and effectually annoy it's Enemy, should ever retain mercenary Troops for these Purposes — To support this Opinion (He says) there seems to be many Reasons not easily controverted.”

I BEG Leave to premise to the Reader, that these Reasons, which He boasts of, are drawn from *Machiavel*. But I shall examine Them, in the Order They stand, and consider how far They are applicable to the present Juncture: And I flatter Myself that my Reflections, on his Arguments, will sufficiently demonstrate, that Subsidiary Forces, are absolutely
E necessary,

necessary, for the Interest, and Security of this Kingdom.

FIRST, says He — “ The Money with
 “ which the Aid of a mercenary Army is
 “ purchas’d must be a Diminution of the
 “ Wealth of that Kingdom which pays them,
 “ and therefore detrimental as it lessens the
 “ pecuniary Strength of the People.”

WHAT an amazing Discovery is this? The more Money we pay, the Less We have left! This trifling Objection, will lie equally against every Farthing We expend. For, undoubtedly whatever Sum We pay, is a present Diminution of our Wealth; but the Question is, whether it is laid out, with a Prospect to our Interest and Advantage? For, if it is prudently disposed of, though it will immediately lessen our pecuniary Strength, yet in the End it will increase our Riches, and add to our Prosperity. And this will evidently appear to be the Case, in the Circumstance now under Examination.

SECONDLY, He says — “ All mercenary
 “ Soldiers must for ever be deficient in that
 “ animating Spirit, which the Love of their
 “ Country

“ Country infuses through the Soul of every
 “ Native.”

THIS seems plausible. But let us not be deceived, and imposed upon by Speculative Arguments. Experience, drawn from past Examples, is the surest Guide, on all present, and future Occasions. Natives, tho’ used to the Field, have as often been found deficient in this animating Spirit, as Mercenaries; and all Natives will ever be destitute of it, who have not been long inured to military Discipline. Let Us look back to the Year 1715 — It is well known that at that Time, the *Natives*, the *Militia*, regardless of the Honor of their King and Country, abandoned their Posts, and yeilded to Confusion; and there are living Witnesses, that their Behavior was not less inglorious, in a late Commotion; though headed by a Prince, whose brave Example might have infused a martial Ardor, into the most dastard Soul; and who led Them on, to fight for their Laws and Liberties. (I do not mention this as any Reflection on *British* Valour, which certainly stands unimpeached throughout *Europe*; but only to prove, that, this animating Spirit is not confined to, or particularly distinguishable among Natives; and that though among

a Body of Troops, Each Individual may be of personal Courage, yet, by not being sufficiently accustomed to Discipline, They may want that warlike Fury, which is only to be acquired by being, long and constantly inured to martial Exercises, and, used to act in Concert together. And I shall shew that it is inconsistent with the Interest of *England* to keep the *Militia* on such a perfect military Establishment; which will remove All Objections to Mercenaries, and strike at the very Root of his chimerical Fabrick.) But to refute this Objection, We need only turn our Eyes on the *Swiss* Forces. What Soldiers behave with more Bravery than They, though They have ever been mercenary even to a Proverb? And this is easily accounted for. For being trained up to attend the Service of such as will hire their Swords, The Exercise of Arms is made familiar to Them: From whence They derive that Ferocity and Contempt of Danger, so necessary in the Field.

THIRDLY — “ Men whose Hearts are
 “ actuated to Battle by venal Views and Pur-
 “ chase are justly suspected to be within the
 “ Reach of pecuniary Corruption. That
 “ Prince and that Army which Money bribes
 “ to

“ to your Assistance will probaby be brought
 “ to desert you by a greater Sum. This
 “ Consideration ought to efface all Confidence
 “ in mercenary Armies.”

WHY? May not the same Consideration
 efface all Confidence in our own Forces? Is
 not History replete with Instances, of Natives,
 who have been bribed, to desert the Cause of
 their King, and Country? Has not the Au-
 thor Himself, dared to charge a most august
 Assembly with Corruption, and can He sup-
 pose, that an Army, is more likely to be in-
 corruptible, than a Senate? Again — Have
 not Natives, an easier Opportunity of desert-
 ing, than Foreigners?

BUT there is another Reason more cogent,
 which obviates his Objection. For whenever
 Subsidiary Troops are engaged, they are always
 the Forces of *such Nations*, whose Interest it
 is, to unite in Opposition to the common Ene-
 my; so that in this Respect (which is the
 main Consideration) They may be regarded
 as Natives: And indeed, in Contradiction to
 Himself, He tacitly admits this Truth, a few
 Pages after, and is involuntarily ingenuous.
 For, attempting to prove, that Subsidiaries, are

un-

unnecessary to maintain the Balance of Power,
 He asks this Question — “ Will *Germany*,
 “ (says He) conspire against it's own Interest,
 “ to give *France* the first?

FOURTHLY — “ A hireling Army, once
 “ victorious, perceiving the People, who in-
 “ vited them to their Assistance, unequal to
 “ the Task of defending Themselves and re-
 “ sisting their Force, will, in all Probability,
 “ set up for Themselves, and become their
 “ Masters.”

THIS, like the last, is a partial Objection;
 for if it lies equally on one Side, it is of no
 Weight. And that it does is evident from
 History. Have not victorious Armies, enslaved
 their Countrymen? Did not *Cæsar*, with his
 victorious Legions, usurp the Government,
 and tread to Empire, on the Ruins of his
 Country? Did not *Oliver Cromwell*, an Usurper
 of later Date, by the Assistance of his Army,
 fix Himself in Power, violate those Laws and
 Liberties, it was his Duty to preserve, and
 tyrannize over Those, whom he ought to have
 protected? And were not the Instruments, of
 these tyrannical Usurpations, All Natives?
 Common Sense, will dictate to Every Man,
 who

who will take the Pains to reflect, that it is much easier for Natives, to perpetrate such Schemes of Tyranny, than Foreigners.

OR, Lastly, (says He) “ A M——r, who
 “ fears He shall one Day feel the Resentment
 “ of a Nation justly enraged against Him;
 “ for sinister Management may retain these
 “ Hirelings in his Service, to subdue, with
 “ more Certainty and less Danger, that People,
 “ which, though He has deprived Them of
 “ Arms, he has not yet forgot to fear.”

This ridiculous Objection, is answered in the foregoing One. But I beg Leave to add, that it would be more practicable for a M——r, to seduce his *Countrymen*, to assist Him in such Designs. For it is natural to suppose, that He will have more Influence among Them, than among Foreigners. Of the Former many may be personally attached to Him through Inclination, more engaged to Him through Interest — And All, equally liable with the latter, to be retained in his Service, by venal Practices,

THOUGH it may seem a bold Assertion, yet I will venture to affirm, that foreign Forces
 are

are in some Respects less subject to Seduction than Natives. I believe it will be readily admitted, that private Discontent and Resentment, have often betrayed Men, to act in Opposition to the public Welfare: And it will scarce be denied, that Commanders, have carried into the Field, private Piques against Ministers, and a general Disgust, against their leading Countrymen at Home. Are not *such*, more open to the Allurements of Interest and Ambition, whose Souls, are already tainted with the envious Rancor of Malice and Animosity, than Foreigners, who are free from such malignant Principles.

THUS much for his particular Reasons. As to his general Arguments against Subsidiary Forces, They are easily refuted.

HE endeavours to prove, that, in Case of a Descent from *France* (which He acknowledges practicable) We are provided to repel the Attempt with our own Forces. He computes the Number of Inhabitants in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* at Two Millions; and then asks,

“ WHAT Force, allowing the Armies of the
 “ *French* King to be ever so numerous, can
 “ be

“ be embarked and landed with any Prospect
 “ of Success against so formidable an Army
 “ as Two Millions of Men able and willing
 “ to bear Arms in their King’s and Country’s
 “ Defence? And then concludes, that,

“ It is ridiculous to offer a Reason in Vin-
 “ dication of this Truth.”

RIDICULOUS as it may appear to him, I
 shall nevertheless attempt it.

It is allowed by all Judges, in martial Af-
 fairs, that vast Numbers, even of disciplined
 Troops, are rather incommodious, that use-
 ful; that All above 30,000, serve only to
 breed Confusion; much more so then, if
 They are raw and unexperienced Soldiers.
 To prove what is advanced, let us recur to
 History. Did not *Alexander*, over-run the
 World, with a Handful of Men? Was not
 the innumerable Army of *Xerxes*, defeated by
 an incredible Inferiority? Were not *Cæsar*’s
 Forces, far inferior, in Numbers, to *Pompey*’s?
 But to give up this Point —

It is admitted, on all Hands, that it is pos-
 sible for the *French*, to land 30000 Men. If

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that

that should happen — Allowing, that our two Millions would sacrifice every Man, yet, will the Lives of so many *French Men*, compensate for the Ravage and Desolation, of our Native Land? The *French*, may bear the Loss of their Soldiers; but how shall We sustain, the Spoiling of our Ground, perhaps, the burning of our Towns and Villages, and the long Train of horrid Calamities, which attend an Invasion? Will not *England* have woful Reason, to lament her Success? Most certainly. It is therefore greatly imprudent in Us, to rest our Safety, on a Confidence of repelling the Enemy, when landed — It is our Interest, it is our Duty, to take the most effectual Measures, to prevent Them, from making the Attempt: And I shall prove, in it's proper Place, that there are no other Means, to divert Them from an Attempt of this Nature, but by engaging the Assistance of Subsidiary Forces.

HE asks — “ Will a M—r, of common
 “ Understanding, and Patriot Intentions,
 “ trust the Security of this Kingdom, to
 “ the good Inclinations of his Enemy? If He
 “ does, and a Descent should prove successful,
 “ ful, with what Forces will He repel Them?
 Will

“ Will a Multitude of Men, unaccustomed
 “ to Obedience, Discipline and Arms, like
 “ the Teeth of the Dragon sown by *Cadmus*,
 “ Start up and become Soldiers in an Instant
 “ at his Command.”

Who thinks that They will? To answer him in his own Way — It would be as ridiculous, to hope for such sudden Perfection, as to expect Him, to become wise, in an Instant — As *Minerva*, sprung out of *Jupiter's* Brain.

BUT let Him not be afraid. The M—r will not trust the Enemy's good Inclination — The M—r, uses All the Precautions, within the Compass of human Wisdom, to prevent Them from making a Descent; which is more prudent, than barely to consider how to repel Them, when landed.

BUT mark how he foams with Exclamation in the succeeding Paragraphs.

“ HIRELINGS (says he) the base Defence
 “ of foreign Mercenaries, must They be called
 “ in to your Assistance? *Hessians* and *Dutch*,
 “ *Germans*, *Hanoverians*, and *Russians*! Must

“ These be brought in to assist the once brave
 “ *English*, in repelling the Foes of their
 “ Native Land? Abject degenerate Thought!
 “ And yet, if an Invasion be made from *France*,
 “ what stronger Reason have You to hinder
 “ Them from being sent for at this Time,
 “ than during the last War, when *Dutchmen*
 “ and *Hessians*, to the eternal Infamy of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, were landed in this Isle, to protect
 “ You against a Rabble of rebellious *High-*
 “ *landers*, Yourself *disarmed*, and incapable
 “ of Defence? Where then is the Absurdity
 “ of supposing the Enemy should attempt an
 “ Invasion against so small an Opposition as
 “ the Troops of *England*? Or that a M——r,
 “ who has already applied for foreign Aid,
 “ should again recur to the same Expedient
 “ of mercenary Assistance?

“ Thus then the Reasons against your be-
 “ ing armed lie only in the M——r’s Breast,
 “ and are relative to Him alone; His Designs
 “ may possibly controvert the public Good;
 “ and those Mercenaries which will destroy
 “ your Liberties, may coincide with his
 “ Schemes: Is He not then the Tropos,
 “ which benumbs your natural Faculties of
 “ War and Resistance? The Source from
 “ whence

“ whence innumerable Calamities will flow
 “ to this once happy, free and marshal King-
 “ dom? Thus then your Weakness consists
 “ only in your Want of being intrusted with
 “ those Arms which are purchased by your
 “ Contributions, and in your Strength be-
 “ ing with-held by the arbitrary Will of a
 “ M——r.”

WHERE will this unmannerly Railer end? Who presumes to reason on Subjects with which He is totally unacquainted, and, to support his Arguments, by Facts notoriously false.

WITH what Regard to Truth, can he dare to say, that We were *disarmed*, in the Time of the late unnatural Troubles? Was not the whole Nation in Arms? Were not Associations formed, and Companies raised, throughout the Kingdom? Were not the *Militia*, in most Counties, drawn out?

WITH what Justice does he charge the M——r, with keeping Arms from our Hands? Are We not provided with the *Militia*, throughout *England* and *Wales*? Are not such *Militia*, governed by the Statute Laws of the Realm?

By

By those Laws, whenever The King shall think it necessary, and for the Safety of the Kingdom, and declare his Orders to the Lords Lieutenants, &c. The Persons empowered, are required to raise the *Militia*: And certainly *The Sovereign*, is the proper Judge when the Exigency of Affairs, demands their *actual* Service.

It would be contrary to the public Welfare and Security, not to reserve their Assistance, till such Time as it shall be thought absolutely requisite. By the Statute of *Car. II.* it is enacted — “ That there shall be a general
“ Muster of the *Militia*, but once a Year,
“ and then not to continue above four Days
“ without special Direction; and that for train-
“ ing single Companies, Musters may be made
“ four Times a Year.” And this Clause was inserted for very wise Purposes.

BUT our Author asks — “ If Men unac-
“ customed to Obedience, Discipline and
“ Arms, will become Soldiers in an Instant?”

It is evident what He would insinuate by this Reflection. He would have the *Militia* kept in Arms, and inured to military Discipline: Not considering the Inconveniencies which would follow such a Practise. IF

IF Housekeepers were obliged to attend in Person, They would have such frequent Avocations from their Business, as would prove very destructive to their Interest: And if They were forced to pay a Person to do Duty for Them, it would become an insupportable Expence to Them — Not to mention, that Such as are hired for that Purpose, are chosen out of the Dregs of the People, who are used to the low and laborious Duties of Life: By which Means, there becomes a Vacancy in those Offices, which occasions a general Stagnation in the trading System. *Porters and Carmen*, are as essentially necessary to promote the vigorous Circulation of Trade, as Shopkeepers and Merchants: And, if We weaken the least Branch of Industry, We shall enervate the whole Body of Trade.

OURS, is a trading Nation, and our Trade is yearly increasing. If the *Militia*, were fixed on a regular military Establishment, it would require such an Attention to Discipline, and such frequent, nay continued, Practice, as must entirely withdraw Them from All other Employment and Occupation; and totally Destroy, the Spirit of trading Industry, which is the very Life and support of *England*.

IT

It is an undeniable Truth, that the Exercise of Arms, renders the common People, idle and dissolute. It learns Them, to be rapacious, fraudulent, and cruel. The Hours of Idleness it allows, make Them acquainted with Vices, which Labour, keeps from their Knowledge. And, it is absolutely against the Policy of a Trading Nation, to encourage it's Inhabitants to a military Profession. It would be more for the Advantage of *England*, to increase the annual Subsidiary Sum, rather than weaken the Spirit of trading Industry; on which, it's Prosperity entirely depends, and which, will repay Us, with ample Interest.

YET, though our *Militia* are not so serviceable as if they were constantly trained, and expert in performing all the various Evolutions — They are nevertheless useful, in Cases of Emergency. They serve to awe and quell, the disaffected at Home — and, if properly disposed of, may be of Use in Battle. For though They are certainly more subject to be disordered than disciplined Troops, yet a skilful Commander, may order Them in such a Manner, as to prevent any ill Effects from their Confusion: And then their Numbers, undoubtedly

undoubtedly serve to strike a Terror, into the Enemy.

AGAIN, such a numerous Body as the *Militia* kept on a strict military Footing, would be always in Readiness for Commotions; and might be easily seduced to disturb the public Peace, and enslave Those, whom They were trained to protect — by the wicked Influence of ambitious and disaffected Commanders; or the turbulent Leaders, of discontented Parties — Which, to our Misfortune, infest *England*, more than Any Nation upon Earth.

INDEED, such an Establishment, may very well suit the Policy of some of the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, where the Government is altogether popular — But it is quite incompatible with Ours.

To strengthen these Observations, I beg to refer the Reader to historical Proofs: And He will recollect the *Romans* and other Nations, owed the Loss of their Liberty, to these Men, As therefore, it is repugnant to the Genius of this Nation, and the Nature of our Constitution; to keep the *Militia* on any other Terms of Discipline, than such as the *Law* has wisely prescribed, and as it is necessa-

ry, to maintain a sufficient Number of regular Forces, always ready for our Service, it will follow, from Reasons which I shall assign, that such Forces, must be Subsidiaries.

BUT, (says Our Author) — “ As it may
 “ be probably urged that *England* and its De-
 “ fence are not the Sole Object of having
 “ Recourse to Subsidiary Troops, let Us exa-
 “ mine what it is.

“ THE Balance of Power, that fascinating
 “ destructive Sound, so much in Use since the
 “ Revolution, so productive of Wars, even
 “ more ridiculous than Crusades and Combat-
 “ ing *Saracens*, for recovering the holy Sepul-
 “ chre, demands the Attention of this Realm;
 “ or this political Equipoise being once destroy-
 “ ed, *England* must perish, alike with all the
 “ Powers of *Germany*, and *France* be possess-
 “ ed of universal Monarchy: No Chimera
 “ can be more visionary than this Idea of fear-
 “ ing universal Empire and balancing the
 “ States of *Europe*. Will *Germany* conspire
 “ against its own Interest to give *France*
 “ the first?”

“ LET Us however (says He) accede to this
 “ Proposition, that the Balance of Power is
 “ an

“ an Object worthy the Attention of this Na-
 “ tion, as our M——y chuses to inculcate to
 “ our Belief.”

“ UNDER the Sanction of this Concession,
 “ are the Arms of *France* a more reasonable
 “ Object of Dread to this Island, than to the
 “ Princes of *Germany*? Is our Danger, di-
 “ vided as We are from our Enemy by the
 “ Sea, with Powers sufficient to resist All
 “ Attacks greater than that of those Princes,
 “ whose Dominions are hourly open to hos-
 “ tile Inroad and Rapine, by the first March
 “ of the *French* Army? What Claim have
 “ They, or what Pretext can be urged, to
 “ induce this People at any Time to hire the
 “ Troops of these very Princes to defend
 “ their own Territories?”

THIS last *Quære*, is neither Sense nor Grammar. But however, it is obvious, what He would say — And This, with the foregoing Interrogations, might be properly urged if the Facts were fairly Stated. —

IF We paid Subsidies, for no other Purposes, than to enable Them, to defend their own Territories, it would be an unpardonable

Folly, and Profuseness. But the Case, is far otherwise — For We grant Them Subsidies not barely to defend their own Territories, but to act offensively, and attack the common Enemy in our Cause, whenever We need their Assistance. Though our Danger, divided as We are from the Enemy by Sea, may not be so *immediate* as Theirs, yet nevertheless, it may be as *great*.

BUT I do not mean to cavil about Degrees of Danger — It suffices, for my Purpose, that it is admitted on All Hands, that We are exposed to Danger: And even our Author, is forced to confess — “ That his Confidence in
 “ Armies is much stronger than in Fleets; and
 “ that a Descent on this Realm, divided from
 “ the Continent by so narrow a Channel, so
 “ suddenly passed with a favourable Wind
 “ secreted by the Darkness of the Night, is
 “ too practicable on Undertaking, and may
 “ be accomplished in Spite of all naval
 “ Opposition.”

I HAVE already shewn, the Folly of confiding in superior Numbers, on such an Occasion; and the precarious Event, of our Endeavours to repel Them, when landed. I
 have

have likewise stated our miserable Condition, even upon the Footing, of the most Sanguine Success: — Does not Reason, therefore, dictate to Us, to make such Provisions, and enter into such Connections, as may effectually deter Them, from making an Attempt, every Way, so destructive to our Interest? And how is This to be effected, but by keeping Forces, to check Them on the Continent?

IN Case of a Rupture with *France*, We should be hourly open to Invasions, did not a Consideration of their own Safety at Home, operate in our Favour. They know, that an Undertaking of that Nature, would weaken their Forces, and expose Them to the Inroad of our Subsidiaries. They, divert the *French* from an Attempt so dangerous to this Nation, by keeping Them, in Motion on the Continent.

CAN there be a more dreadful Scene, than for a Trading Country, as Ours is, to be made the Seat of War? Admit, that We gain the most complete Conquest, Ambition can desire, and that not a single Enemy, escapes our Vengeance — yet, even then, We shall have Cause, to moan our Victory. If We
are

are defeated, We are absolutely ruined ; if We conquer, our Ruin is but protracted. From this dreadful Alternative, our Subsidiary Forces, shelter and preserve Us.

BUT to argue with the utmost Impartiality — And agree, that, notwithstanding these Motives, to restrain Them, The *French* should hazard a Descent. If That should happen, as it is contrary to the Interest of this Nation, to maintain the *Militia* under such Regulations as are contended for — How, (as the Author observes) can We oppose our Standing Forces, against Them, with any Certainty of Success? Or, allowing that We are strong enough to resist and defeat them, yet how shall We be able, (even with the Aid of the best disciplined *Militia*) to take Vengeance on our Enemies, for our Losses ; without the Assistance, of Subsidiary Forces? Without their Help, We can, at best, only act defensively : And shall *England*, always be fighting *pro Aris & Focis*, and not make Reprisals, by attacking the Invader in her Turn? And where can We raise a sufficient Number of Forces of our Own, to annoy Them, on the Continent? Or if we could, How can We afford the Expence of transporting, and maintaining, such

such a numerous Body, there? And unless We can take Revenge of them by such Means, how shall We obtain a Recompence, for the Injuries We may sustain?

PERHAPS it may be answered, that we should endeavour to take their Ships, and ruin their Commerce. To which I reply, That This, would by no Means, prove a competent Remedy. First, *France* does not so much depend on commercial Interest, as We do. Again—The Success of Naval Affairs, is, of all others, most precarious: At Sea—Wind, Weather, and Tide, often combat against Us. Even our Author allows, that his Confidence in Armies, is must stronger than in Fleets. If therefore, our Armies, are not sufficiently powerful, to oppose, and *prevent* the Designs of, the *French*, it will follow that, while We are taking their Ships, and ruining their Commerce, They might overrun, and ruin our Country.

As therefore, our standing Forces are not sufficient to oppose Them; and as it is inconsistent with the Nature of this Kingdom, to keep the *Militia* on a more strict military Establishment—Or, to give up these Points,
and

and admit of such a *Militia*, and suppose that with Them, We are strong enough to defend Ourselves——yet, as it is highly destructive to our Welfare, to wage a defensive War, within our own Dominions, which, if successful, can be of no Advantage to Us, and if otherwise, would be attended with inevitable Destruction——It is indisputably our Interest, it becomes an Act of Necessity, to be provided with Forces, on the Continent, to deter Them, from such an Undertaking ; and to revenge the Losses, We may sustain from their Hostilities, if They dare to risk a Descent.

AGAIN, if *France*, was not obliged to maintain such a numerous Army, to withstand the Forces combined against Her, She might appropriate that immense Expense, towards strengthening her Naval and Marine Powers, by which Means, She might become terrible at Sea, and keep Us in continual Alarms, for Fear of Invasions.

I AM sensible, that I have been already tedious on this Head. But I hope the Reader, will pardon my adding some few Reflections, dictated by an honest Zeal, which makes me eager to convince Others, of the Utility of Measures,

Measures, which, I am clearly satisfied, are directed for the public Good.

To give the Author, all the Advantage He can desire—I will even put our own *immediate* Advantage out of the Case; and will suppose, that the Subsidies, granted to the *German Princes*, are to enable Them, to defend their own Territories; and then I will ask Him, if Our Interest is connected with Theirs — Whether, in assisting Them, to defend their Territories, We do not receive a resulting Benefit, by protecting our Own, at the same Time? That our Interest is united with theirs, cannot be denied; for should We sit tamely by, and suffer *France*, to become their Masters, what more could We expect, than the Favour, which *Polyphemus* granted *Ulysses* — That, of being *devoured Last*? Where Interests are united, Does not Reason and Justice, dictate that Assistance, should be mutual?

Do not the most powerful States court Alliances? Can *England* subsist without? Do not all Treaties of Alliance, naturally include an Obligation of mutual Succour? And as our Allies do not want, neither can we furnish Them, with Men, consequently, it re-

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mains,

mains, that We must aid Them, by our Subsidies, to support a sufficient Body of Forces, for our mutual Service, and Safety.

THUS it appears, that the *Balance of Power*, is not a mere *fascinating Sound*, as he insolently terms it, but a real Object, worthy our Consideration, and requisite for our Well-Being, and Security.

BUT (says He) “ In what Manner did “ They subsist before the Revolution.”

IN Answer to which I say — That the Military, and Naval Strength of *France*, is infinitely Superior now, to what it was, at the Period He mentions. It is manifest to All *Europe*, that She has, long since, meditated the Design of universal Monarchy : That She has invariably pursued this aspiring Scheme, and fortified Herself with every Accession of Power, necessary for it's Completion ; by which Means, She is become more formidable, than ever ; more particularly to the *German* States, who are most immediately exposed to her hostile Attempts. These Considerations therefore, make it our Interest to aid and assist Them, and, at the same Time, reinforce Ourselves.

IN

IN further Support of his Arguments, against continental Interests, He goes back, as far as the Reign of *King John*, which is between Five and Six Hundred Years ago — and tells Us “ That in his, and some succeeding “ Reigns, the People refused Contributions, “ to carry on the Wars on the Continent.”

WHAT is this to the Purpose? This proves Nothing. It is true, that Examples drawn from History, in Support of general Propositions, have their due Weight; but where the Dispute is about Particulars, They decide Nothing. The particular Interests of Nations, are of a fluctuating Nature; and as They alternately change, the Measures, in Each, must also vary; and be accomodated to the Alteration: Or Those, who adhere to the Old System, will be enevitably ruined. The same Rule of Action, which warranted Success, at One Time, will prevent it, at Another: And it would be as absurd in a Politician, to adopt the Principles of Those ancient Patriots, as it would be in a General, to arm his Soldiers with Bows and Arrows, to fight against the Discharge of *French* Cannon.

BUT He says, that — “ Since Our Attach-
“ ments to *German* Interest We have thrown

“ Millions into the Scale of that *Balance of*
 “ *Power*, which never has inclined, nor ever
 “ will preponderate on our Side.”

Was there ever so ridiculous an Observation? If it preponderates on our Side, or on any Side, where would the Balance be? The Meaning of, preserving a Balance or Equilibrium, is to keep the Scale even, that it may not incline, or preponderate, more on One Side, than Another.

“ Let Me now (says He) lay before you
 “ some Estimate of what may be the Ex-
 “ pence if ever a Design of hiring that long
 “ Lift of mercenary Blood-Suckers from
 “ *Germany* and other Places should take
 “ Place.”

He then proceeds to shew that, in Case of a War, One Million and a Half, will be yearly expended in Subsidies.

I SHALL not dispute this Calculation. On the contrary, I beg Leave to insist, that the Sum is inconsiderable, in Proportion to the Number of Troops, it engages in our Service. For Instance——We are secure of 73,000 Russians, for the annual Sum of 60,000 *l*.

In

In Case of a War, that Number is to be made up 100,000, which altogether, will cost Us 500,000 *l.* It is well known, that We could not maintain, above a fifth Part of our own Forces, for the same Expence. Troops, retained in our Service, on such easy, friendly Terms, are not Mercenary, or Subsidiary Forces, but more properly Auxiliaries.

BUT designing, seditious Spirits, will endeavour to pervert the most useful Measures; and blaken the purest Intentions, with the livid Dye of Falseshood. Every Man of Judgement, and Impartiality, will acknowledge that foreign Forces, are absolutely necessary, in the present State of Affairs. To awe *France* on the Continent, is the only Means to divert Her, from making foreign Attempts, and executing that vast Plan, which She has formed to extend her Power. It is the only Way, to preserve Peace in *Europe*. In doing This, We shall preserve our Trade, free and uninterrupted; on which, our Prosperity entirely depends, and which, will soon enable Us, to discharge the National Debt.

SINCE even the Prejudiced, are forced to acknowledge, that our Confidence in Armies,
is

is more reasonable, than in Fleets: And as We are unable to maintain Forces of our Own, sufficient to oppose, and check the Enemy, on the Continent. — It becomes indispensibly our Interest, to unite with foreign Powers. And how is such Union, disgraceful to *Britain*? What Room is there, for this Son of Faction, to propose the following seditious Interrogations?

“ Where then will be fled that martial
 “ Spirit which animated the Souls of your
 “ great Ancestors at *Cressy*, *Poictiers*, and
 “ *Agincourt*? Is that *English* Valour, which
 “ knew no Defeat beneath the Command of
 “ *Malborough*, totally annihilated?

“ Will you then permit in Silence these
 “ Foreigners to be brought to your Assistance?
 “ Will you servilely surrender Yourselfs and
 “ Liberties into their Hands for Protection?
 “ Will Ye be the Slaves of *German* Mercen-
 “ naries?”

No. *Britain* disdains the Thought. No One, but the meanest of All Slaves, the servile Tool of disappointed Party, would dare to echo such a Sound, in *British* Ears. Will
British

British Bravery be less animated, because it co-operates with other martial Spirits? Rather, will not Emulation, inspire it with more vigorous Ardor? Were not the conquering *Britons*, under the Command of *Malborough*, aided by foreign Powers? Did not a *foreign General*, share the Wreaths of Glory, with that victorious Commander? And was This ever considered, as a Diminution of *British* Honor?

It is my Happiness, to boast that I am an *Englishman*. But though I honour the heroic Courage of my Countrymen, yet I am not blind, nor ungenerous, to the Valour of other Nations. Let us look back to the last War. How did the *Hanoverians* behave? Were They, less magnanimous, than We?

I NEED not, nay I cannot, applaud my Countrymen more than to say — *They fought like Britons*. But if Bravery is implied in *Briton*, *Briton* and *Hanoverian*, are synonymous.

HERE I leave our Author. His Conclusion, is the Language of blind Folly, and venal Rage. Yet weak and trifling as it is, it, nevertheless, claims Attention; but it is so daring

daring and insolent, that it would be almost criminal to transcribe it. It is the sound of Discord, blowing the Trump of Sedition.

EVERY true Patriot therefore, Every Lover of his Country, should endeavour to preserve Harmony among his Fellow Subjects, and oppose such malignant Spirits. The most mean and despicable Talents, are sufficient to do Mischief: And where the Peace of a Nation is concerned, such Foes to Government are not to be disregarded, because They are contemptible. Though They stand in the lowest Rank of Ignorance and Infamy, They will find Others, weak and wicked as Themselves — Easy to be deceived, and ready to be inflamed. Even this Reptile, who diffuses the poisonous Venom, which He has sucked from the *Creolian Python*, may corrupt *Some*, among the Vulgar.

O UNHAPPY *Britain!* Thy greatest Good, will One Day prove thy Ruin. *That Liberty*, so dear to Nature, and which Thou alone can't boast of — *That*, will destroy Thee. Such is our Depravity, that We abuse the choicest Blessings; and convert our Liberty, to Licentiousness.

LICENTIOUSNESS, is a fungous Protuberance, which adheres to the wholesome Body of Liberty. As it is dangerous to remove it, with the keen Instrument of Severity, lest Liberty, expire under the Operation, the poisonous Cancer, is suffered to corrode the Vitals of Liberty. Thus, by Degrees, it's sound and vigorous Constitution, will rot and decay; and it's Putrefaction, will engender Slavery."

BUT let Us endeavour, at least, to retard the Progress of this mortiferous Corruption. Let us try to correct it, with lenient Alteratives. Where They are ineffectual, We must use sharper Remedies. Though We dare not venture to sepearate this dangerous Tumor, We may nevertheless extirpate the most morbid Particles, to prevent the Contagion's spreading.

A REGARD for our Welfare calls upon Us to provide against Every Thing, which has the most remote Tendency to endanger our Happiness and Security. The Man who dares to question the Legality and Authority of the Supreme Judicature, who attempts to corrupt the People by malicious Insinuations, to irritate Them by unjust Complaints, and intimi-

date Them with groundless Fears, should be considered as a Foe to Government, and a Rebel to his King and Country. Every one who has Penetration to discover such dangerous Malevolence, should have the Integrity to expose it publickly, and forewarn his Fellow Subjects, to beware of such latent Malignity.

WHILE Ambition reigns in the Heart of Man, while Vanity, is eager for Preferment, without Merit to obtain it, while Poverty grasps at Profit, to repair Prodigality — Party Rage, will ever prevail. While that subsists, there will ever be a Chain of Discontent — Down from the false Patriot, to the dependant Tool, who obsequiously copies the ghastly Grin of Envy, which deforms his Patron.

SUCH servile Miscreants, will be ever ready to dip their prostituted Pens into the Ink of Calumny; and, libel Virtue, to feed the Rancor of their Patron's Malice, who pines at the Prosperity of superior Worth.

IT behoves Us therefore to guard against such lurking Traytors. We ought to join with Unanimity, lest We encourage our Enemies

mies Abroad, by our unnatural Divisions at Home. Every Consideration, conspires to persuade Us to so desirable an Union. We are happy in a M——r, of whose inflexible Attachment to the Interest of his King and Country (from a long series of Loyalty and Patriotism) We have received the most incontestible Proofs. Constancy, is the surest Mark of Wisdom ; and such steady Perseverance, in an invariable Course of irreproachable Conduct, is the strongest Evidence of an honest Zeal, directed by sound Judgement.

We are happy also in a *Prince*, Who has never made the least Encroachment, on the Liberties of his People ; Who sways the Scepter with Moderation, fills the Throne with Glory, and thus irradiates the Crown, with reflected Lustre ; whose Reign does Honour to his Subjects, and diffuses Prosperity, among his People.

To complete our Felicity, We are blest with a rising Progeny, who are formed for Greatness, and trained to Government, under the wise Influence of *the best of Monarchs*.